

HART-TEETER  
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1011 respondents  
Dates: March 4-7, 1995

47 Male  
53 Female  
**[5]**

**FINAL**

Study #4057  
NBC News/WSJ  
March 1995

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<b>[6]</b>	<b>[8]</b>	<b>[9]</b>	<b>[12]</b>		<b>[13]</b>	<b>[14]</b>
<b>]</b>		<b>]</b>			<b>]</b>	<b>5</b>

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least eighteen years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? **(IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:)** Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? **(IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)**

**(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

**(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)**

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least eighteen years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? **(IF "YES," SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered .....	7	<b>[15</b>
	9	<b>]</b>
Not registered.....	2	
	0	
Not sure.....	1	

- 2a. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?<sup>1</sup>

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	
				*							<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	
Right direction..	32	40	34	37	27	28	32	35	27	47	15	34	<b>[16</b>
Wrong track.....	47	42	47	42	55	57	50	42	56	27	71	48	<b>]</b>

Mixed (VOL)....	13	12	13	12	14	11	12	16	10	14	9	13
Not sure.....	8	6	6	9	4	4	6	7	7	12	5	5

<sup>1</sup> Only selected

2b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>11/4-5/94*</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	
Approve.....	44	45	48	43	44	48	44	49	52	57	55	<b>[17]</b>
Disapprove.....	45	43	44	48	44	43	48	44	39	37	36	
Not sure.....	11	12	8	9	12	9	8	7	9	6	9	
			<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
			60	56	47	50	45	41	52	57	51	
			31	33	43	39	45	50	34	26	16	
			9	11	10	11	10	9	14	17	33	

**(FORM A)**

3a. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?  
1

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	43	50	46	44	40	45	48	50	42	33	52	<b>[18]</b> <b>1</b>
Disapprove..	46	38	46	47	51	46	41	39	48	56	28	
Not sure....	11	12	8	9	9	9	11	11	10	11	20	

**(FORM B)**

3b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?<sup>1</sup>

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	37	50	44	45	32	34	34	53	33	50	38	47	<b>[19]</b> <b>1</b>
Disapprove.....	47	38	45	46	60	54	54	31	58	36	43	22	
Not sure.....	16	12	11	9	8	12	12	16	9	14	19	31	

4. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>Bill Clinton<sup>1</sup></b>							
March 1995.....	14	31	18	19	17	1	<b>[20]</b>
January 1995.....	15	29	18	20	17	1	
December 1994.....	15	26	19	18	21	1	
October 1994.....	16	26	16	16	25	1	
September 1994.....	13	28	18	18	23	-	
July 1994.....	15	28	17	15	24	1	
June 1994.....	17	29	17	16	20	1	
December 1993.....	22	33	15	15	14	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
<b>Newt Gingrich</b>							
March 1995.....	10	17	17	17	24	15	<b>[21]</b>
January 1995.....	9	19	20	13	18	21	
December 1994.....	6	13	17	13	19	32	
October 1994.....	3	8	14	7	9	59	
October 1990*.....	1	8	10	6	6	69	
<b>(FORM B)</b>							
<b>Al Gore<sup>1</sup></b>							
March 1995.....	13	29	28	15	12	3	<b>[22]</b>
January 1995.....	12	27	29	17	10	5	
December 1994.....	17	27	24	16	12	4	
October 1994.....	14	26	27	15	14	4	
June 1994.....	16	24	28	13	11	8	
December 1993.....	18	29	25	13	10	5	
November 1993.....	21	31	22	13	11	2	
September 1993.....	17	30	24	12	12	5	
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
<b>(FORM A)</b>							
<b>Pete Wilson</b>							
March 1995.....	5	9	19	7	5	55	<b>[23]</b>
<b>(FORM B)</b>							
<b>Phil Gramm</b>							
March 1995.....	6	14	22	8	9	41	<b>[24]</b>
December 1994.....	6	13	24	6	6	45	
<b>(FORM A)</b>							
<b>Lamar Alexander</b>							
March 1995.....	2	9	16	5	2	66	<b>[25]</b>

<sup>1</sup> Only selected months of

Q.4. (cont'd)

<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/</u>
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comparable data are shown.

\* Asked only of registered voters.

Not Sure**Jesse Jackson**

March 1995.....	7	20	25	20	23	5	<b>[26]</b>
September 1994.....	8	18	28	21	20	5	
July 1994.....	9	18	26	20	22	5	
July 1992.....	5	17	25	21	29	3	
May 1992.....	7	22	25	18	24	4	
February 1992.....	8	21	23	20	24	4	
October 1991.....	9	22	22	21	22	4	
October 1990.....	12	25	24	17	18	4	
March 1990.....	15	28	24	14	15	4	
November 1989.....	15	30	23	16	13	3	

**Colin Powell**

March 1995.....	28	30	22	4	1	15	<b>[27]</b>
September 1994.....	33	25	19	4	2	17	
October 1993.....	35	30	15	4	1	15	
September 1993.....	32	27	17	4	3	17	
June 1993.....	37	27	13	4	2	17	
May 1991*.....	37	30	14	3	2	14	
March 1991*.....	43	28	8	2	1	18	
February 1991*.....	46	22	8	2	1	21	

**Bob Dole<sup>1</sup>**

March 1995.....	17	34	21	11	9	8	<b>[28]</b>
January 1995.....	13	29	23	15	9	11	
December 1994.....	16	31	21	14	10	8	
October 1994.....	11	25	23	14	16	11	
September 1994.....	14	24	24	13	12	13	
July 1994.....	12	25	22	15	14	12	
June 1994.....	11	26	26	12	12	13	
January 1994.....	13	29	21	14	9	14	
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14	

**Hillary Rodham Clinton<sup>1</sup>**

March 1995.....	14	26	22	14	22	2	<b>[29]</b>
January 1995.....	18	22	21	14	23	2	
December 1994.....	17	23	19	16	23	2	
October 1994.....	18	23	17	14	27	1	
September 1994.....	15	24	19	15	24	3	
July 1994.....	21	25	17	10	25	2	
June 1994.....	21	26	16	15	20	2	
December 1993.....	26	27	17	11	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	

<sup>1</sup> Only selected months of

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	
Approve.....	41	31	27	23	28	34	32	31	33	30	<b>[30 1]</b>
Disapprove.....	46	48	63	67	64	52	56	58	54	56	
Not sure.....	13	21	10	10	8	14	12	11	13	14	
		<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>7/91*</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
		29	24	27	27	27	15	26	28	22	
		60	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	
		11	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

5b. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Newt Gingrich is doing as speaker of the House of Representatives?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	
Approve.....	37	32	<b>[31]</b>
Disapprove.....	43	26	
Not sure.....	20	42	

6a. If the next election for president were held today, **(ROTATE ORDER OF NAMES ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW)** and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate and Bob Dole were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>10/93</u>	
			*			4	4		
Bill Clinton.....	41	41	39	45	41	46	48	45	<b>[32]</b>
Bob Dole.....	48	43	45	43	43	43	39	45	
Depends (VOL).....	1	2	3	1	2	NA	NA	NA	
Neither/other (VOL).....	6	8	5	6	9	4	7	NA	
Not sure.....	4	6	8	5	5	7	6	10	

**(FORM A)**

6b. If the next election for president were held today, **(ROTATE ORDER OF NAMES ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW)** and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate and Phil Gramm were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

Bill Clinton.....	4	<b>[33]</b>
	6	
Phil Gramm.....	3	
	3	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Neither/other (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	1	
	2	

**(FORM B)**

- 6c. If the next election for president were held today, and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate, Bob Dole were the Republican candidate, and Colin Powell were an Independent candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	
Bill Clinton.....	34	34	36	<b>[34]</b>
Bob Dole .....	32	24	29	
Colin Powell.....	23	29	21	
Depends (VOL).....	2	2	NA	
None/other (VOL).....	1	2	2	
Not sure.....	8	9	12	

- 7a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

**(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

**(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	<b>CONTINUE</b>	<b>{202}</b>
	5		
Not very strong Democrat.....	1		
	3		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9		
Strictly Independent.....	1	<b>CONTINUE</b>	
	8		
Independent/lean Republican.....	1		
	1		
Not very strong Republican.....	1	<b>SKIP TO Q.7c.</b>	
	1		
Strong Republican.....	1		
	5		
Other.....	5		
Refused.....	1	<b>FORM A--SKIP TO Q.8a.</b>	
Don't know/nothing.....	2		<b>FORM B--SKIP TO Q.9</b>

**(ASK ONLY OF DEMOCRATS AND STRICT INDEPENDENTS IN Q.7a.)**

- 7b. Would you like the Democratic Party to nominate Bill Clinton again in 1996 as its presidential candidate, or would you prefer that the Democratic Party nominate someone else?

	<u>3/95</u> All Democrat	<u>1/95</u> All Democra	<u>12/94</u> All Democrat	
Like the Democratic Party to nominate Bill Clinton.	<u>5</u> 54	<u>ts</u> 58	<u>s</u> 53	<b>[35]</b>
Prefer the Democratic Party nominate someone else.....	31	28	32	
Too early to say (VOL).....	5	9	9	
Not sure.....	10	5	6	





**(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS AND STRICT INDEPENDENTS IN Q.7a.)**

- 7c. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1996 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which **one** of the following candidates would you favor? **(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean? **(ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	All Republicans	
Lamar Alexander.....	5	<b>[36]</b>
Pat Buchanan.....	5	
Bob Dole.....	60	
Phil Gramm.....	13	
Richard Lugar.....	4	
Arlen Specter.....	2	
Someone else/none (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	8	

**(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS AND STRICT INDEPENDENTS IN Q.7a.)**

- 7d. Let me read you another list of people who might seek the 1996 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which **one** of the following candidates would you favor? **(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean? **(ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	All Republican	
Lamar Alexander.....	3	<b>[37]</b>
Pat Buchanan.....	3	
Bob Dole.....	37	
Phil Gramm.....	7	
Richard Lugar.....	3	
Colin Powell.....	27	
Arlen Specter.....	2	
Pete Wilson.....	6	
Someone else/none (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	10	

**(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS AND STRICT INDEPENDENTS IN Q.7a.)**

- 7e. In your opinion, is it very important that the Republican presidential and vice presidential nominees have a pro-life position on abortion, very important that they have a pro-choice position on abortion, or is their position on abortion not as important to you as other issues?

	All Republicans	
Very important for nominees to be pro-life	30	<b>[38]</b>
Very important for nominees to be pro-choice.....	23	
Not as important as other issues.....	41	
Not sure.....	6	

**(ASK EVERYONE.)****Now moving on to some other topics....****(FORM A)**

- 8a. Compared to 1992, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

Gotten better .....	3	<b>[39]</b>
	1	
Gotten worse .....	2	
	6	
Stayed about the same.....	4	
	2	
Not sure.....	1	

**(FORM A)**

- 8b. And compared to 1992, would you say your own financial situation has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

Gotten better.....	3	<b>[40]</b>
	3	
Gotten worse.....	1	
	7	
Stayed about the same.....	4	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	

**(FORM B)**

9. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?<sup>1</sup>

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Will get better.....	22	31	4	4	4	3	20	2	2	*	<b>[41]</b>
Will get worse.....	25	17	24	24	17	19	29	10	20	24	<b>1</b>
Will stay about the same..	49	46	40	44	52	34	48	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	4	6	5	4	3	4	3	2	3	5	

**(FORM B)**

10. As you may know, the stock market has been going up in recent weeks. Do you think the stock market is reflecting economic conditions accurately, or do you think the stock market is out of step with the economy?

Stock market reflecting economic conditions.....	3	<b>[42]</b>
	0	
Stock market out of step with the economy.....	5	
	1	
Not sure.....	1	
	9	

11. I'd like to read you a list of seven possible legislative priorities. Please tell me which one or two you feel are the most important issues for Congress to address. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN TWO ANSWERS.)**

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	
Health care reform.....	40	29	<b>[43]</b>
A balanced budget amendment .....	30	24	>
A middle class tax cut.....	19	28	
Welfare reform.....	41	46	
A revised Crime Bill.....	19	21	
Cutting back affirmative action programs.....	7	NA	
An increase in the minimum wage.....	20	18	
A capital gains tax cut.....	NA	8	
All equally important (VOL).....	4	3	
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	
Not sure.....	-	-	

12. Who do you want to see take the lead role in setting policy for the country---President Clinton or the Congress?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	
			*	
President Clinton.....	33	31	30	<b>[44]</b>
Congress.....	54	55	55	
Shared/equal role (VOL).....	6	8	11	
Neither (VOL).....	3	2	1	
Not sure.....	4	4	3	

13. From what you know, do you agree or disagree with most of what the Republicans in Congress are proposing to do?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	
Agree.....	45	49	41	<b>[45]</b>
Disagree.....	35	22	28	
Both/mixed (VOL).....	10	9	6	
Not sure.....	10	20	25	

14. In your view, how good a job are the Republicans in Congress doing at keeping the promises they made during the 1994 campaign--an excellent job, a good job, just a fair job, or poor job?

Excellent job.....	7	<b>[46]</b>
Good job.....	2	
	8	
Just a fair job.....	4	
	3	
Poor job.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	7	

15. Now I'm going to mention several proposals made by the Republicans and being considered by Congress. For each one, please tell me if you feel this is a step in the right direction or a step in the wrong direction. First, **(READ ITEM)**--is this a step in the right direction or the wrong direction.

**(IF "RIGHT DIRECTION" ASK:)** Do you feel strongly or not strongly that this is a step in the right direction?

**(IF "WRONG DIRECTION" ASK:)** Do you feel strongly or not strongly that this is a step in the wrong direction?

**(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	Right Direction / Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Right Direction/ Do Not Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Wrong Direction/ Do Not Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Wrong Direction / Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Neither Right Or Wrong <u>(VOL)</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
<b>(FORM A--NEXT 6 ITEMS)</b>	15	13	23	41	1	7	<b>[47]</b>
Funding a missile-defense system, often called "Star Wars".....							
Ending the federal food stamp program and giving the money directly to the states.....	39	15	8	27	3	8	<b>[48]</b>
Ending government affirmative action programs for women, blacks, and other minorities.....	31	10	13	31	4	11	<b>[49]</b>
Eliminating the national service program, which gives stipends and college tuition credits to young people in public-service jobs.....	24	12	15	37	3	9	<b>[50]</b>
Cutting spending for the Department of Education.....	9	6	11	68	2	4	<b>[51]</b>
Establishing a six-month moratorium on new federal regulations affecting business and local government.....	26	19	10	12	5	28	<b>[52]</b>
<b>(FORM B--NEXT 6 ITEMS)</b>	37	21	13	23	1	5	<b>[53]</b>
Greatly reducing U.S. involvement in United Nations' peacekeeping missions.....							
Ending the school lunch program and other federal nutrition programs, and giving the money directly to the states.....	25	9	8	50	2	6	<b>[54]</b>
Ending the ban on assault weapons. .	32	9	6	45	2	6	<b>[55]</b>
Ending direct lending of student loans by the government, and having banks make all student loans.	28	13	9	38	2	10	<b>[56]</b>
Ending federal spending for public television and public radio.....	21	13	12	41	4	9	<b>[57]</b>
Denying welfare benefits to unwed teenage mothers .....	37	12	12	26	5	8	<b>[58]</b>

**ROTATE ORDER OF Q.16a AND Q.16b ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW****(FORM A)**

- 16a. Do you think Bill Clinton has been too inflexible in dealing with the Republican Congress, has been too quick to give in to the Republican Congress, or has struck the right balance in dealing with the Republican Congress?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95*</u>	
Too inflexible.....	23	17	<b>[59]</b>
Too quick to give in.....	23	20	
Right balance.....	38	55	
Not sure.....	16	8	

**(FORM A)**

- 16b. Do you think the Republican Congress has been too inflexible in dealing with President Clinton, has been too quick to give in to President Clinton, or has struck the right balance in dealing with President Clinton?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95*</u>	
Too inflexible.....	43	47	<b>[60]</b>
Too quick to give in.....	9	4	
Right balance.....	35	43	
Not sure.....	13	6	

- 17a. Do you favor or oppose the nomination of Dr. Henry Foster to be the Surgeon General, or haven't you heard enough about the issue to have an opinion?

Favor the nomination.....	3	<b>[61]</b>
	4	
Oppose the nomination.....	1	
	7	
Don't know enough to say.....	4	
	5	
Not sure.....	4	

- 17b. Do you think the fact that Dr. Foster performed abortions when he was a practicing physician in Tennessee should or should not disqualify him from being considered as Surgeon General?

Should disqualify him from being considered as Surgeon General	1	<b>[62]</b>
	9	
Should not disqualify him from being considered as Surgeon	7	
General.....	5	
Not sure.....	6	

**(FORM B)**

- 18a. Here are some possible goals for reforming the welfare system. Which one or two would you say are the most important? **(ROTATE ORDER EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)**

Reducing out-of-wedlock births.....	1	<b>[63]</b>
	5	
Helping people now on welfare move into the work force.....	4	>
	5	
Eliminating fraud and abuse.....	2	
	9	
Making sure poor children get the support they need.....	1	
	7	
Ending long-term dependence on welfare as a way of life.....	5	
	1	
All (VOL).....	9	
None (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	-	

- 18b. Which concerns you more about the current efforts to reform welfare--that they will not go far enough in reducing the welfare rolls, or that they will go too far in denying help to poor families?

Will not go far enough.....	3	<b>[64]</b>
	9	
Will go too far.....	5	
	1	
Both equal (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	7	

- 18c. Republicans in Congress are proposing a number of changes and spending reductions in federal programs that serve the poor. Do you think the Republicans generally have the right approach in dealing with poverty programs, or are they going too far in this area?

Have the right approach.....	3	<b>[65]</b>
	6	
Going too far.....	4	
	5	
Both (VOL).....	2	
Not far enough (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	1	
	5	

- 19a. Do you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	
Favor.....	71	71	68	<b>[66]</b>
Oppose.....	25	16	19	
Depends (VOL).....	4	4	3	
Not sure.....	-	9	10	

- 19b. If a balanced budget amendment were to be passed, do you think it should or should not include a provision that would prohibit Congress from using funds from the Social Security trust fund to balance the budget?

Should include provision.....	6	<b>[67]</b>
	2	
Should not include provision.....	3	
	4	
Not sure.....	4	

- 19c. As you know, Congress recently voted down a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Most Republicans supported the amendment as necessary to reduce spending and balance the budget. Many Democrats opposed the amendment because it did not specifically protect the Social Security trust fund from being used to balance the budget. Who do you agree with more--the Republicans who supported this version of the balanced budget amendment, or the Democrats who opposed it?

Agree with Democrats.....	6	<b>[68]</b>
	4	
Agree with Republicans.....	2	
	7	
Both equal (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	7	

**(FORM A)**

- 20a. If Congress reduces spending on some programs this year, should these savings mainly be used to reduce the deficit, to lower taxes, or to increase funding for other programs?

Reduce the deficit.....	5	<b>[69]</b>
	3	
Lower taxes.....	2	
	6	
Increase funding for other programs.....	1	
	5	
Combination (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

**(FORM B)**

- 20b. Would you favor or oppose cutting spending on Medicare in order to reduce the budget deficit and lower taxes?

Favor.....	2	<b>[70]</b>
	4	
Oppose.....	6	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	2	

**(FORM A)**

21. When you reach retirement age, do you think Social Security will be paying the same level of benefits as it pays now, paying less than now, or will it not be paying benefits at all?

Paying same as now .....	1	<b>[71]</b>
	4	
Paying less than now.....	3	
	7	
Not paying benefits at all.....	2	
	9	
Already retired/does not apply (VOL).....	1	
	4	
Not sure .....	6	

**(FORM B)**



22. Congress is now considering changes in the rules that govern lawsuits over product liability. Which do you think is more important--**(ROTATE ORDER)** that Congress protects people's right to sue a company when they are injured, or that Congress reduces frivolous and expensive lawsuits?

Protects people's right to sue .....	3	<b>[72]</b>
	1	
Reduces frivolous and expensive	5	
lawsuits.....	8	
Both equal (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	5	

<b>ROTATE ORDER OF Q.23a AND Q.23b ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW</b>
---

- 23a. All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs for blacks and other minority groups?

	3/95			5/91*			
	All	Whites	Blacks	All	White	Black	
					S	S	
Favor.....	46	40	81	57	52	86	<b>[73 1]</b>
Oppose.....	41	46	13	33	37	10	
Not sure.....	13	14	6	10	11	4	

- 23b. All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs for women?

Favor.....	56	<b>[74]</b>
Oppose.....	33	
Not sure.....	11	

- 24a. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

The federal government should make special efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups to correct past discrimination.

The federal government should not make any special efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minorities because they should help themselves.

	3/9			5/91			
	All	Whites	Black	All	White	Black	
			S		S	S	
The federal government <u>should make special efforts</u> .....	38	31	80	45	39	82	<b>[75 1]</b>
The federal government <u>should not make any special efforts</u> .....	48	54	9	41	46	11	
Somewhere in between (VOL).....	9	10	6	10	10	6	
Neither (VOL).....	2	2	2	1	2	-	
Not sure.....	3	3	3	3	3	1	

\* Asked only of registered voters.

- 24b. There is a proposal to end the use of affirmative action considerations--such as race or gender--in deciding admissions to state universities, hiring for government jobs, and awarding of government contracts. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this proposal?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95*</u>	
Strongly favor.....	25	33	<b>[76]</b>
Somewhat favor.....	32	28	
Somewhat oppose.....	18	16	
Strongly oppose.....	15	16	
Not sure.....	10	7	

- 25a. Have you personally faced discrimination in the job market? **(IF YES:)** Was that discrimination based on sex, race, age, religious or ethnic background, physical disability, or something else? **(ACCEPT UP TO TWO TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION.)**

<b><u>Yes, Have Faced Discrimination (net)</u></b>	<b><u>3</u></b>	
	<b><u>2</u></b>	
Sex.....	1	<b>[77]</b>
	2	
Race.....	1	>
	3	
Age.....	6	
Religious or ethnic background.....	2	
Physical disability.....	1	
Something else.....	4	
Not sure what based on.....	-	
<b><u>No, Have Not Faced Discrimination</u></b> .....	<b>6</b>	
	<b>6</b>	
<b><u>Not Sure If Have Faced Discrimination..</u></b>	<b>2</b>	

- 25b. Have you personally ever been **(READ ITEM)** by affirmative action programs? **(ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Helped.....	6	90	4	<b>[78]</b> <b>]</b>
Harmed.....	12	84	4	
				<b>[79]</b> <b>]</b>

26. Now I am going to name some different groups in society, and I would like to know how you feel each group is generally treated in the job market today. For each one, please tell me if you think they often face unfair discrimination, are usually treated fairly, or often receive unfair preference. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Face Unfair Discriminatio n	Treated Fairly	Receive Unfair Preference	Not Sure	
Blacks.....	28	43	21	8	<b>[80]</b>
White men.....	18	62	15	5	<b>[81]</b>
Hispanics.....	38	36	12	14	<b>[82]</b>
Women.....	40	43	12	5	<b>[83]</b>
Disabled or handicapped people.....	47	31	11	11	<b>[84]</b>
Asian-Americans.....	19	52	10	19	<b>[85]</b>
The elderly.....	55	30	9	6	<b>[86]</b>

**(FORM A)**

- 27a. Now let me read you two brief statements on affirmative action programs, and ask which one comes closer to your own point of view. **(READ BOTH STATEMENTS SLOWLY. IF RESPONDENT SELECTS STATEMENT, ASK:)** Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly? **(ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas.

Statement B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities, and should be phased out because they unfairly discriminate against whites.

	3/95			3/			
	All	Whites	Blacks	All	White	Blacks	
Statement A/Strongly.....	31	23	76	40	33	77	<b>[87]</b>
Statement A/Do not feel strongly.....	21	22	9	21	23	8	
Statement B/Do not feel strongly.....	13	16	-	11	19	6	
Statement B/Strongly.....	27	31	10	17	13	2	
Not sure.....	8	8	5	11	12	7	

**(FORM B)**

- 27b. Now let me read you two brief statements on affirmative action programs, and ask which one comes closer to your own point of view. **(READ BOTH STATEMENTS SLOWLY. IF RESPONDENT SELECTS STATEMENT, ASK:)** Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly? **(ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: Affirmative action programs are needed to provide diversity in the workplace and in colleges, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas.

Statement B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities, and should be phased out because they unfairly discriminate against whites.

Statement A/Strongly.....	2	<b>[88]</b>
	9	
Statement A/Do not feel strongly.....	2	
	1	
Statement B/Do not feel	1	

strongly..... 4  
 Statement B/Strongly..... 3  
 0  
 Not sure..... 6

- 27c. Here are some specific affirmative action programs. For each one, please tell me if you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that program. **(ROTATE ORDER EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Strongl y Favor	Somewha t Favor	Somewha t Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Not Sur e	
Requiring employers to actively seek out qualified minority and women applicants for jobs.	19	25	24	28	4	<b>[89]</b>
Setting goals for the number of minorities or women to be employed in a firm.....	15	21	24	35	5	<b>[90]</b>
College scholarship programs available only to black or minority students.....	7	12	22	56	3	<b>[91]</b>
Set-aside programs that guarantee a certain percentage of government contracts to minority-owned firms.....	11	23	25	34	7	<b>[92]</b>
<b>(FORM A)</b> Giving preference to female job applicants when they are equally as qualified as male applicants...	33	22	17	21	7	<b>[93]</b>
<b>(FORM B)</b> Giving preference to minority job applicants when they are equally as qualified as white applicants .....	19	23	20	31	7	<b>[94]</b>

- 27d. In your view, is the current national debate over affirmative action a healthy and positive development for the country, or a divisive and negative development?

Healthy and positive development..... 4 **[95]**  
 5 **1**  
 Divisive and negative development.... 4  
 0  
 Not sure..... 1  
 5

**Now turning to some different topics....****(FORM B)**

28. Which one of the following do you think is the most serious foreign policy issue facing the United States today? **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**<sup>1</sup>

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/94</u>	
			<u>4</u>			<u>4</u>		
The war between Bosnia and Serbia.....	11	12	25	8	12	11	21	<b>[96]</b>
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union.....	22	27	17	17	15	14	18	
The situation in Haiti*.....	5	6	7	17	13	7	3	
North Korea's nuclear program+.....	18	21	16	25	33	46	25	
Economic instability in Mexico**.....	13	11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Relations between Israel and the Arab nations***.....	14	11	16	12	8	7	14	
All equally (VOL).....	7	5	6	4	5	5	8	
None of these (VOL).....	2	2	3	3	2	1	1	
Not sure.....	8	5	5	6	6	6	7	

<sup>1</sup> Only selected months of comparable data are shown.

29a. How closely have you been watching the trial of O.J. Simpson--very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely, or not at all closely?

Very closely.....	13	<b>[97]</b>
Somewhat closely.....	34	
Not very closely.....	26	
Not at all closely.....	24	
None (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

29b. In your opinion, is O.J. Simpson guilty or not guilty of the murders he has been charged with committing?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	
		<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	
O.J. Simpson is guilty.....	44	49	42	33	<b>[98]</b>
O.J. Simpson is not guilty.....	21	16	22	23	
Not sure.....	35	35	36	44	

**(FORM A)**

29c. If you were going to have lunch with one of the legal figures involved in the O.J. Simpson trial, would your choice be **(ROTATE ORDER)** F. Lee Bailey, Johnnie Cochran, Robert Shapiro, Christopher Darden, Marcia Clark, or Lance Ito?

F. Lee Bailey.....	1	<b>[99]</b>
	2	
Johnnie Cochran.....	1	
	0	
Robert Shapiro.....	6	
Christopher Darden.....	3	
Marcia Clark.....	2	
	4	
Lance Ito.....	3	
	0	
None (VOL).....	1	
	0	
Not familiar enough to say (VOL)....	1	
Not sure.....	4	

30a. Are you a fan of major league baseball?

	<u>3/95</u>		<u>12/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	
Yes, major league baseball fan.....	41	<b>CONTINUE</b>	44	42	55	<b>[100]</b>
No, not a major league baseball fan.....	58	<b>SKIP TO</b>	55	58	44	
Not sure.....	1	<b>FACTUALS</b>	1	-	1	<b>1</b>

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL FANS IN Q.30a)**

30b. Have you personally attended any major league baseball games in the past year? **(IF YES:)**  
How many games have you attended? **(READ CHOICES ONLY IF NECESSARY)**

<b><u>Yes, Have Attended A Baseball Game</u></b>			
One game.....	8	<b>[101]</b>	
Two games.....	9		
Three or more games.....	2		
	2		
Not sure how many games.....	1		
<b><u>No, Have Not Attended Any Baseball Games</u></b>			6
			0
<b><u>Not Sure If Have Attended</u></b>			-

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL FANS IN Q.30a)**

30c. As you know, there is currently a baseball strike. Which side do you hold more responsible--the team owners or the players?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/94</u>	
		<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	*	
Hold team owners responsible.....	27	31	28	37	<b>[102]</b>
Hold baseball players responsible.....	45	40	43	47	
Both equally responsible (VOL).....	24	25	26	8	
Not sure .....	4	4	3	8	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL FANS IN Q.30a)**

30d. If the major league baseball players are still on strike at the beginning of the season and the owners schedule games with replacement players, would you pay to go see those games?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	
Yes, would pay to go.....	44	43	<b>[103]</b>
No, would not pay to go.....	54	54	
Not sure .....	2	3	

**(ASK EVERYONE.)**

**FACTUALS:** Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1a. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

**(IF "YES," ASK:)** For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

<b><u>Yes, Voted</u></b>		
George Bush.....	2	<b>{200}</b>
	9	
Bill Clinton .....	3	
	4	
Ross Perot.....	1	
	2	
None (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	2	
<b><u>No, Did Not Vote</u></b> .....	2	
	2	
<b><u>Not Sure If Voted/Refused</u></b> .....	1	

F1b. When voting in congressional and presidential elections, do you **(ROTATE ORDER)** always vote for Democrats, mostly vote for Democrats, split your votes evenly between Democrats and Republicans, mostly vote for Republicans, or always vote for Republicans?

Always vote for Democrats.....	7	<b>{225}</b>
Mostly vote for Democrats.....	1	
	7	
Split votes evenly.....	4	
	0	
Mostly vote for Republicans.....	2	
	1	
Always vote for Republicans.....	5	
Haven't voted/don't vote (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	5	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	5	<b>{201}</b>
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	6	
Moderate.....	2	
	4	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	6	
Very conservative.....	1	
	0	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	1	
	6	



Not sure..... 3

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	1	<b>{203}</b>
Some high school.....	9	
High school graduate.....	3	
	0	
Some college, no degree.....	2	
	0	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	1	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	1	
	6	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree.....	7	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	8	<b>{204}</b>
	2			<b>}</b>
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	7	
	0			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	5	
	2			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	6	
	1			
40-44.....	1	65 and over.....	18	
	0			
		Refused.....	1	

F5. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

Professional/manager.....	2	<b>{205}</b>
	4	
White collar worker.....	1	
	7	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	4	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	9	
Retired.....	1	
	9	
Unemployed.....	2	
Never worked/not sure.....	1	

F6a. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	<b>CONTINU</b>	<b>{207}</b>
	3	<b>E</b>	
Catholic.....	2	<b>SKIP TO</b>	
	9	<b>Q.F7</b>	
Jewish.....	2		
Other.....	8		
None.....	6		
Not sure/refused.....	2		

**(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F6a.)**

F6b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist.....	6	<b>{208}</b>
Evangelical .....	7	
Neither fundamentalist or evangelical	35	
Both (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	4	
Not Protestant (Q.F6a).....	47	

**(ASK EVERYONE)**

F7. Do you regularly listen to political call-in shows on the radio?

Yes, regularly listen to call-in radio shows.....	2	<b>{250}</b>
	2	<b>}</b>
No, do not regularly listen to call-in radio	7	
shows.....	6	
Not sure.....	2	

F8. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	<b>{213}</b>
	0	
Labor union household.....	8	
Nonunion household.....	8	
	0	
Not sure.....	2	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	80	<b>{214}</b>
Black.....	10	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	7	<b>{216}</b>
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	3	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	6	

